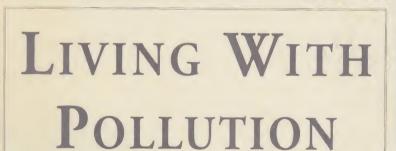


\$1.95

October/November/December 199

# GRENPRACE

MAGAZINE



POVERTY'S SILENT PARTNER

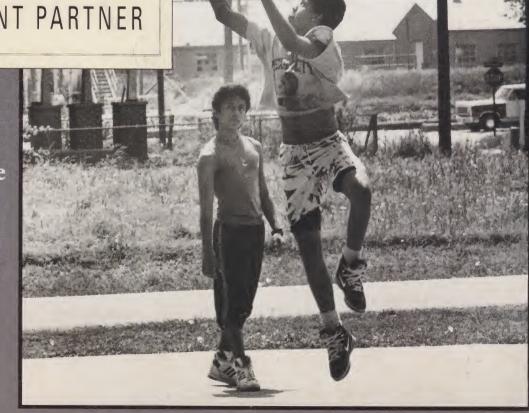
# **EXPOSÉ:**

Fire in the Gulf, Smokescreen at Home

# LEADED GAS:

Poison for Export







N APRIL 1990, IN THE MIDST OF THE EARTH Day frenzy, no one would have predicted that a short 12 months later, environmental groups would be laying off staff, cutting programs and facing their most difficult financial crunch in a decade. Yet this is exactly what is happening. This year, almost every organization devoted to arms control, social justice and the environment in the U.S. has seen its rev-

enues drop as much as 20 percent.

EARTH DAY'S CDD

BY ANDRE CAROTHERS

Money is short. America, for economic and other reasons, has put environment on the back burner. The economic piece of the equation is fairly straightforward; it is the "other" that concerns us. We are worried that the economy is not the only problem, that just as the environ-

mental decade is beginning, a curious complacency is descending on the leadership of the industrialized nations. It's not that we expected the banks, governments, corporations and institutions responsible for the environment's decline suddenly to do the right thing. But it is unnerving to see public support for groups like Greenpeace appear to decline just as the global leadership's green rhetoric is drying up as well.

And it is drying up. Three years ago, the Western democracies blithely signed off on the recommendations of the Brundtland report, a United Nations document on environment and development that, while not satisfactory to all environmentalists, certainly called for some significant reforms. Though agreed to in principle, the report was promptly ignored. Last year's meeting of the seven leading Western democracies, known as the G-7, was called the Green Summit because of the hefty proportion of environmental rhetoric. At this year's G-7, the portion of the proceedings devoted to the environment lasted 13 minutes. And George Bush, the self-proclaimed environmental president of three years ago, has proved no friendlier to efforts to protect the planet than his predecessor.

It bears repeating that these global institutions will not change willingly. The interests of President Bush and his colleagues in the G-7 and the interests of the international banks, lending institutions and corporations that are responsible for the lion's share of our environmental problems are the same. In fact, they are often the same people.

To make matters worse, many businesses and their allies in government are organizing to preserve the status quo, creating what could be called an anti-environmental movement. Industry-funded groups with friendly names like the Information Council on the Environment, the Coalition for Vehicle Choice, the National Wetlands Council and People for the West are working to reverse two decades of hard-won victories for the environment. Several corporate public relations firms, once charged with defending the reputation of their clients, are now under a new assignment: to destroy ours by painting a picture of an environmental movement that is asking too much, that has less than the whole planet's interests

Reforming this array of interests is an overwhelmingly difficult task, and for all the successes of the environmental movement in the last decade, the overall trend is not encouraging. The rate at which new problems emerge and older ones become more intractable is still far outpacing the implementation of effective solutions. And the anti-environmental movement is splitting the country, casting ordinary people in pursuit of clean air and water as traitors or terrorists.

Under the circumstances, it is tempting to put a happy face on everything, quietly cut programs, wait out the recession, and content ourselves with some form of the organization that is determined by the vagaries of the economy and the public mood. But that's not our way, and we have always thought that Greenpeace supporters were different as well. The environmental movement cannot be satisfied with being smaller. While we are as entranced as anyone by the myth of David and Goliath, it is clear that we don't have the luxury of seeing which way the legend turns out this time.

There is one planet, and perhaps two decades to turn it around.

Still, we have to deal with what is in front of us, so here is what Greenpeace is going to do: First of all, the magazine is going to cut back temporarily from six issues a year to four. Magazines are not for everyone, so if you don't want to receive it, that's okay. Please mail back the card on the outer wrap of this issue and we'll make sure that the money saved goes toward bolstering our campaigns. Second, we will be prioritizing campaigns, focusing on the work that is most effective, and most needed. This includes the ongoing Alaska and Great Lakes campaigns, as well as our work on radioactive waste, global warming, rainforests and the ecology of the oceans. And we will continue to try to lead the environmental movement in demanding changes that serve the planet, not public relations. We want every citizen to be part of the environmental movement.

This is a plea, admittedly, but not just for Greenpeace. It is a plea for our readers to understand that the survival of the planet is dependent on the health of the public inter-

est movement. Any decline in support for groups pressing for social change means a proportionally larger concentration of power in the hands of institutions that, by their very nature, cannot have the public's and the planet's interests in mind. Civic society is not a luxury. It is essen-

It is unnerving to see public support for groups like Greenpeace appear to decline just as the global leadership's green rhetoric is drying up as well.

tial to the functioning of the nation, and essential to the protection of the natural environment.



Kuwaiti Oil Fields, Summer 1991

# 0 HOME STREET, USA: LIVING WITH POLLUTION

Being poor in America means breathing foul air, working filthy jobs, and living next to toxic waste landfills and incinerators. A photographic guide to America's most neglected environment.

# 4 AFTER DESERT STORM, THE DELUGE

by Andre Carothers

Six months ago the bombing ended, leaving an environmental and public health disaster in the gulf. But instead of cleaning up, the government is covering up. A Greenpeace investigative report on the story they don't want you to know.

# 8 NOT GETTING THE LEAD OUT

by Kenny Bruno

The good news: In 1975 the U.S. began phasing lead out of gasoline, removing a major threat to an entire generation of American children. The bad news: In pursuit of profits, Du Pont, Ethyl and Octel are still poisoning children abroad.

# 20 BARREN HARVEST

Costa Rica's banana workers reap not only the fruit, but also poisonings, sterility and even death from toxic pesticides produced in the U.S. and sent south for use on bananas intended for U.S. consumers. A bill in Congress may end this deadly circle.

#### 4 OPEN SEASON

Antarctica saved—International Whaling Commission considers morality of kills—START's real implications.

#### 6 ECONEWS

Hawaii's geothermal project on hold—Yankee Rowe relicensing—Turtles win one—Northern activists in Malaysia.

#### 21 CAMPAIGNS

Keep the oceans healthy—Rainbow Warrior in Soviet waters—War on Waste targets RCRA—Greenpeace victories—Sub program springs a leak—Oppose Senator Johnston's energy bill.

#### 24 ACTION ACCESS

Student environmental conference—Letters worked—Asbestos victims—World alerts—Wood advice—Earthnet—GE video—Disk democracy—No nukes in Needles.

### 25 GREENPEACE LOG

26 LETTERS

#### HOW TO READ THIS MAGAZINE

Publishing this magazine is a poor substitute for visiting everyone in the United States and Canada and explaining what counts in an age of environmental crisis. It is designed to anger, enlighten, enthuse and make possible action at the individual level. Please take advantage of it, write the letters, use it as a resource to educate others, including your local newspaper and organizations. If you can't read everything, look for the special action boxes, shaded in green, for ways to help. If you want to reprint something, just ask. After you are finished, save it or pass it on to a friend, doctor's

office, school, retirement home, library or coffeehouse. As a last resort, recycle it. If your local recycler doesn't accept the cover, use it as gift wrapping paper.

Many diverse opinions and perspectives are presented in this magazine. They are not necessarily the "official" Greenpeace position.

The cover of this magazine is made of paper we import from Sweden. We use it to make a point: Almost all paper in the United States and Canada is bleached with chlorine, creating dioxinladen chlorinated pollution. This paper is bleached

using an oxygen-based process, making it safer and cleaner. Buying it is a small but significant step toward our ultimate goal: the exclusive use of post-consumer recycled paper that, when necessary for high quality, is bleached using a non-polluting technology. As soon as our recycled stock is depleted, the inside of this magazine will be printed on chlorine-free paper from a domestic mill. If you want to know more, write us at *Greenpeace Magazine*, Paper Department, 1436 U Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009 USA.



#### AND THE WINNER IS...

Largest producer of ozone-depleting CFCs and HCFCs worldwide: Du Pont

Corporate winners of EPA's Stratospheric Ozone Protection Awards: Du Pont, Digital Equipment, Dolco, Food Packaging Institute

Out of the 24 winners, number of non-profit environmental organizations receiving EPA's Stratospheric Ozone Protection Awards: 0

Source: EPA memo

#### ANTARCTICA'S FIFTY-YEAR REPRIEVE

#### STRAIGHT LINE PRIORITIES

Seventy-four percent of Americans believe the government should keep environmental protection a priority even if it means slower economic growth. Fifty-four percent want government to take "serious action" against polluters, even if it means closing down some factories and losing jobs in their own communities.

Source: Golin/Harris Communications, Inc. LEW ENVIRONMENTAL CAMPAIGNS CONSTITUTE as great and unequivocal a victory as the successful decade-long struggle to protect Antarctica. On July 3, the United States agreed to sign the environmental protection protocol, joining the other 25 signatories of the Antarctic Treaty in outlawing oil and mineral exploitation of the southern continent for 50 years. For the first time in international diplomatic history, a multilateral agreement was reached that prohibits, rather than promotes, commercial exploitation of one of the planet's rapidly disappearing wild areas.

No thanks are due, however, to the United States. The agreement nearly collapsed under the weight of scandalous White House foot-dragging. At the closing session of a preparatory meeting in April, the U.S. delegation revealed no substantial objections to the protocol, only to announce later that it was having second thoughts. At a subsequent meeting, intended strictly for legal fine-tuning of the agreement, the U.S. abruptly put on the table an amendment that essentially allows any nation unhappy with remaining prohibitions on oil or minerals extraction to withdraw from the agreement shortly after the 50-year ban

ends. The United States' 25 other treaty partners were outraged, but ultimately acquiesced to a modified version of the proposal.

After three days of wrangling, the agreement was once again on the table, at which point, as a final slap in the face to the other delegates, the United States balked at its own proposal. The international reaction was intense, and a series of scathing editorials appeared in the *New York Times* and other papers. Realizing that it had perhaps gone too far, the White House finally reversed itself and signed the agreement.

Environmentalists became concerned about the fate of Antarctica in the 1970s, when few nations were aware of it, and still fewer had any presence there. In the late '80s, speculation that Antarctica might harbor reserves of oil and minerals combined with the ongoing oil crunch and the emergence of new technologies to focus new international attention on the southern continent. Some non-treaty nations began to call for "fairness" in any exploitation regime that emerged from the treaty states.

By 1990, with the treaty nations on the verge of adopting a convention on minerals

#### ATOMIC CLOCK

Length of time DOE says it needs to clean up contaminated nuclear weapons facilities: 30 years

Date of final cleanup of nuclear contamination from the 1944 Manhattan Project radioactive waste site: August 1991

Source: The New York Times

## NUCLEAR: A SAFE ALTERNATIVE?

Number of Soviets living in areas so contaminated by the Chernobyl release that they must be continuously monitored: 830,000

Amount of radioactive particles released by the Chernobyl reactor as compared to the atomic bombing of Hiroshima: 300 to 400 times

A

NEW

**ERA** 

FOR

THE

**IWC** 

Probability, according to the NRC, of a major nuclear accident in the U.S. before 2005: 45 percent

Increased risk of leukemia for residents within a 10-mile radius of the Pilgrim, Mass. nuclear plant between 1978 and 1983: 400 percent

Source: War and Peace Nuclear Index. For complete packet contact: War and Peace Foundation, 32 Union Square East, New York, NY 10003; 212-777-6626.

#### LEAVE IT AT HOME

"If you want to take 2,000 pounds of iron with you to work, you should have to pay for it."—Leif Nybo, chairman of the planning committee in Uslo, Norway, speaking about the city's new car commuter toll system.

extraction, Greenpeace and other Antarctic groups redoubled their efforts to shift the debate toward full protection for Antarctica. Soon after, the first of several treaty nations defected from the exploitation camp. Others followed, and by January of 1991 it became clear that some form of comprehensive protection such as the ban was guaranteed.

Celebrations of this kind are all too rare. Greenpeace and its supporters and allies can justifiably be proud.

> N JUNE, FOR A BRIEF MOMENT, it looked as if the International Whaling Commission (IWC) was edging back into the whale-killing business. When the IWC's Scientific Committee recommended the so-called Revised Management Procedure at its annual meeting in Iceland this summer, it broke a decade-long deadlock by providing, in theory, a workable quota system for "harvesting" whales. This is the third such system agreed to by the 37-nation body. The first two-the "Blue Whale Unit" and the New Management Procedure—were such abject

failures in 1982 the IWC's anti-whaling bloc won a vote that calling for a temporary halt to killing whales altogether.

Full-scale commercial whaling is still a long way off. Launching the boats in the manner of the 1960s requires the agreement of the entire IWC, an unlikely event. The IWC will remain consumed, as it has been for the last decade, by sparring over the proposals of Iceland and its few allies to continue the slaughter under the guise of "science," a ruse sanctioned by the charter of the Commission.

Nevertheless, a revolution did occur at the IWC this year. In his speech explaining why he abstained on the vote, New Zealand's IWC Commissioner Ian Stewart questioned the notion that taking the maximum sustainable yield of a particular whale population was possible, or, more significantly, whether it was even desirable. In two short pages, Stewart

took issue with the IWC's tradition of scientific discourse and the entire exploitation paradigm that has dominated the Commission and other international bodies like it. "No matter how scientifically sensible it may seem, it will appear to the people of New Zealand that we are repeating past mistakes all over again—playing God and reshaping the environment."

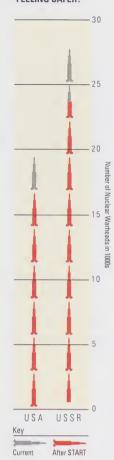
The new procedure mandates that all species of whales be maintained at three-quarters of their estimated pre-exploitation levels. In the case of the minke whales of the southern hemisphere, Stewart points out, the Revised Management Procedure would constitute a death sentence for 100,000 of the region's estimated 400,000 adult whales. "I quail at the thought of being able to explain the procedure to my authorities back home, and I can assure you that the general public will never understand it," said Stewart.

Stewart expresses a moral dilemma heretofore unspoken in the IWC. Even if humanity thinks that it has an ironclad "scientific" banner under which to kill the whales, is that enough? Is the science reliable? Is the paradigm under which we "manage" wildlife, in which it is okay to take the maximum number of a particular species according to a complicated calculation of "sustainability," defensible?

Whether one agrees with Mr. Stewart or not, it is worth noting that New Zealand exhibits far more respect for rational methods than Icelandic delegate Gudmundur Eiriksson, who flatly declared that his country would not accept a management procedure that did not sanction his whaling industry's desired level of slaughter. Iceland, infuriated that the body did not concur with its blunt effort at manipulation, once again threatened to withdraw from the body. This seems unlikely because the essential glue of the IWC—the interlocking disincentives that are secured through U.S. wildlife and trade laws—will probably continue to deter the small band of potential defectors.

So, while Stewart has raised the level of debate, he and his supporters among the anti-whaling nations still must wrestle with the hard-scrabble politics of whaling. But a new era has begun in the IWC. We can only hope that this revolution infects every other international body charged with "managing" global resources.

#### FEELING SAFER?



The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), signed by George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev on July 31, will remove about 3,000 warheads from the U.S. nuclear arsenal and about 4,000 from the Soviets', leaving about 40,000 warheads in the nuclear stockpile. At the signing ceremony, Bush said that START "represents a major step forward for our mutual security and the cause of world peace." He neglected to mention that the treaty won't stop either nation from modernizing its nuclear weapons to make them more powerful and accurate.



# TRUTH IN ADVERTISING?

AMVAC Chemical Corporation spilled thousands of gallons of its toxic weed killer metam sodium into northern California's Sacramento River on July 14. The spill killed millions of fish, forced the evacuation of thousands of residents, devastated the ecosystem along a 40mile stretch of the waterway and threatened California's water supply. AMVAC's corporate slogan? "Chemistry... for Life!"

#### HAWAIIAN EXPLOSIONS

A COMBINATION OF VOLCANIC AND PUBLIC pressure could halt the environmentally destructive and locally disruptive geothermal project planned for Hawaii's Big Island (see "Fueling the Fantasy," *Greenpeace*, May/June 1991).

On June 12, just before midnight, an Ormat drilling rig on the Big Island erupted in two roaring explosions. Despite prior reassurances to concerned local residents, the safety equipment and warning alarms designed to respond in the event of a blowout failed to work. Two workers were injured, and the neighboring residents were evacuated, as the well continued to vent noxious hydrogen sulphide gas at levels of up to 200 to 300 parts per million for 31 hours. Nearby residents complained of feeling sick and of having difficulty breathing for days after the blowout, and several dozen animals were killed by the fumes.

The blowout prompted state and county officials to discontinue all future drilling operations at the wells until the cause of the explosion is determined and until the safety of all future activities is assured.

Two weeks after the blowout, on June 26, Judge David Ezra ordered an injunction on all federal participation in the geothermal/cable project, and froze \$5 million in federal funding appropriated for the Hawaii Geothermal Energy Project, pending the completion of a federal environment impact statement (EIS). An EIS could take two years to complete.

Although the ruling only covers federal funding in the project, Ezra cautioned in a footnote that the state may also have to halt its activities pending an EIS—a major victory for environmentalists, should it occur.—DW

#### **TURTLES WIN ONE**

glass frames. Or fans, or combs, or knick-knacks. Unfortunately, trinkets made from endangered hawksbill turtle shells come at a high price: 673,000 members of a rare and elusive species slaughtered in just two decades. Now it seems there may be hope for hawksbills. Japan, the world's largest consumer of their shells, has agreed to phase out its imports.



One step closer to safety

Jewelry made from the lustrous shell, called bekko, is so popular in Japan that, until recently, imports topped 30 tons each year. The Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna (CITES), to which Japan is a signatory, bans all imports and exports of sea turtle shells. Japan, however, exempted the hawksbill for itself because of its traditional bekko carving craft.

In Indonesian waters, fishermen hunt the turtles both for export to Japan and for domestic sales of stuffed turtles and shell souvenirs to European and American tourists.

Greenpeace estimates that between 50,000 and 70,000 green and hawksbill turtles are killed each year in Indonesia. Almost every egg laid on Indonesian beaches is eaten by humans. More efficient hunting due to the

advent of motorboats, and the booming Japanese export trade have pushed the hawksbill toward extinction.

However, the international community is mustering the will to save the turtle. After the United States threatened to ban Japanese wildlife exports, Japan agreed to phase out all bekko imports over the next three years. Environmentalists working behind the scenes say U.S. action came only after they threatened legal action. "The applause goes to Bush," says Bruce Jaildagian of Greenpeace's turtle campaign. "But the work was done by environmentalists."—LH

SIX

What You Can Do: Write to the governor of Bali, urging him to protect turtles without delay—Governor of Bali, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia.

Do not eat turtle meat or soup.

Do not buy any sea turtle product souvenirs, such as hawksbill shell jewelry, ornaments or stuffed turtles.

MORE STUDY NEEDED? Warmest year on record worldwide: 1990



#### A NEW LEASE ON LIFE?

WILL OLD NUKES GET

SIGN OF THE TIMES
Average rate of extinction
of species per thousand
years during the time of
the dinosaurs: 1

Average rate of extinction of species per year today: 17,500

Number of species waiting for listing on officially threatened or endangered candidate list in 1989: 3,800

Number of years it will take to review current list with current budget: 76

Number of species that have become extinct while waiting for listing: 380

Source: California Nature Conservancy

# DEPARTMENT OF WHAT?

Percentage of the Department of Energy budget devoted to nuclear weapons in 1981: 27

In 1991: 63

Source: Federation of American Scientists MALL, HUMBLE AND RUN BY DOWN-TO-EARTH New Englanders, the Yankee Rowe nuclear power plant in western Massachusetts is a symbol of the flailing nuclear industry's attempt to revive itself. Rowe, the nation's oldest nuclear power plant, is nearly at the end of its planned life, and nuclear advocates want to relicense the plant and keep it online. The reason? Rowe is only the first of 66 reactors whose licenses expire in the next 30 years.

The last thing the sickly nuclear industry needs right now is to absorb the fiscal shock of decommissioning 66 reactors and storing their wastes. The industry, which hasn't had a new plant order in more than a decade, must renew old licenses or begin shutting down plants. Rowe's 40-year license expires in July 2000, and Rowe was to have been the first plant to apply for a 20-year extension.

There's just one small problem. Like most plants contemplating relicensing, Rowe does not comply with current safety standards. After decades of irradiation, Rowe's reactor pressure vessel is becoming "quite brittle," and thus vulnerable to possible meltdown, according to Pryor Randall, a Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) metallurgist who spoke at a 1990 hearing on the plant. At a public NRC meeting in July, Yankee Atomic Electric Company officials admitted they did not know the condition of Rowe's vessel and had based safety claims on tests of other reactors.

Up to 5,000 deaths and \$30 billion in damages could result from a worst-case accident at Rowe, estimated a 1982 study performed by Sandia National Laboratories for the NRC. After Rowe's problems were revealed, its relicensing was stalled. A total shutdown of the plant, called for by the Union of Concerned Scientists and Greenpeace, was denied by the NRC. Rowe was authorized to run at least through next April, the end of its current fuel cycle.

In an attempt to bypass public review, NRC relicensing rules, now under consideration, may preempt public hearings on relicensing through a "streamlined" process, whereby only utilities provide assessments of a reactor's safety.—LH

#### **ACTIVISM GOES SOUTH**

Oronment has become fairly common in the industrialized world. It is less so in the south, where daily survival is often the most immediate concern. But the tradition is alive and well in some parts of the less industrialized world, particularly Malaysia, where the indigenous natives of the state of Sarawak have blockaded logging roads for more than 10 years to protect their way of life (see *Greenpeace*, July/ August 1990).

In July, for the first time, northern environmentalists went south to conduct blockades in support. They chained themselves to cranes and stopped logging operations for nine hours. When the dayend whistle screamed, Malaysian police arrested eight of the 13 protestors. Several received sentences of up to two months. Two were ordered to leave the country. The team calls itself "SOS Sarawak," and represents six countries and organizations such as Germany's Robin Wood, Switzerland's Society of Threatened People and America's Earth First!

In five to seven years, the UN estimates, there will be no significant primary rainforest left in Sarawak. The Malaysian government insists that after thousands of years of living in the rainforests, the Penan, Sarawak's last nomadic forest dwellers, must be "civilized." Consequently, traditional culture is nearly extinct.

Last June, a number of incarcerated Penan activists issued a plea for help. "When we were arrested the other day, the forest officer proudly told us that despite our opposition, logging would anyhow continue in our land.... Our government...is destroying our lives.... Please help change our government."

The response to SOS Sarawak has been mixed. Many environmentalists, from both north and south, frowned upon the intervention, arguing that imported environmentalism can be misguided and counterproductive. Misunderstandings in the past have prompted many in the north to defer to the approaches of their Asian, African or South American counterparts. But SOS Sarawak asserts that desperate times require desperate methods. The Penan said the presence of the foreigners, at the very least, gave them hope.—JK

#### **SPENDING PRIORITIES**

In 1990, worldwide military spending reached \$900 billion—60 percent higher than in the 1970s. Nations have spent \$6 trillion more on arms in the past 30 years than on health care.

Source: World Military and Social Expenditures, by Ruth Leger Sivard.



Action for export.





# PEOPLE LIVING WITH POLLUTION

Welcome to Home Street.

This neighborhood happens to be in New York City, but it could be any urban or industrial area in the United States. It is where America dumps its garbage, sites its incinerators, hides its toxic waste and builds its dirtiest factories. It is also where America's poor and powerless are forced to live.

America drives through here on its way to work, leaving behind lung cancer, asthma and other respira-



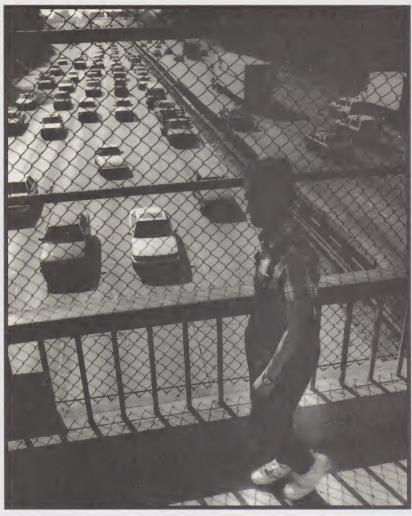
SCOTT THODE/JB PICTURES

tory diseases. One of every hundred children in New York City has been hospitalized for severe asthma—the poorer and more polluted the neighborhood, the higher the rate of such hospitalization.

Being poor or working class in America means living, working and dying in the country's most polluted places.

Welcome to Home Street, USA, where America dumps its garbage.

#### Los Angeles, California



ZACH SINGER

When pathologist Dr. Russell Sherwin began examining the lungs of inner-city Los Angeles youths who had died from accidents or violence, he discovered a curious thing: eight out of 10 had lung abnormalities that were probably caused by breathing the city's filthy air. More than a quarter had severe lung lesions. "The danger I am seeing is above and beyond what we've seen with smoking or even respiratory viruses," says Sherwin. "It's much more severe."

Los Angeles is the smog capital of the nation. More than eight million cars take to

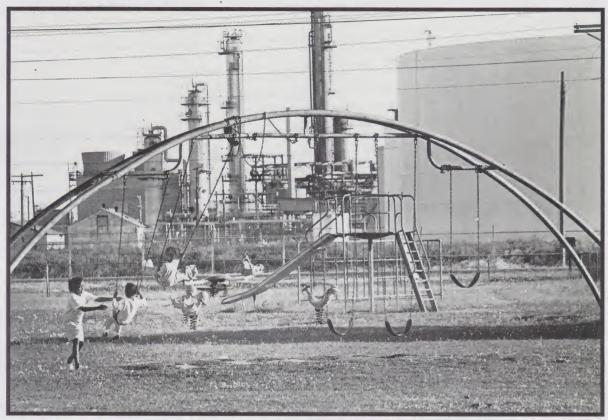
L.A.'s roads each day. Nearly 60 percent of the city center is devoted to freeways, streets and parking lots. In 1989, the city experienced 213 days in which the Pollution Standards Index rose above 100. New York had 39. According to the American Lung Association, air-borne particulates are responsible for more than 1,600 deaths in the L.A. basin each year.

The L.A. basin's wealthy residents cluster where the air is cleanest. According to one survey, 71 percent of the city's blacks and 50 percent of its Latinos live in the most polluted areas. By contrast, only 34 percent of its whites do. Blacks and Latinos are also disproportionately employed in the state's polluting indus-

tries. Nearly half the victims on California's lead poisoning registry have Latino surnames.

In an effort to curb rising pollution levels, state air quality officials are considering levying taxes on drivers and parking spaces, as well as instituting an elaborate system of charges on car and highway use. The result? The city's poorest residents will have to pay to keep their already low-paying jobs. "The solution to the city's air quality problem should not be to tax poor people off the roads," says Eric Mann of the Labor/Community Strategy Center.

#### TEXAS CITY, TEXAS



SAM KITTNER

On the streets of blue-collar Texas City (population 42,000), the town council has installed a loudspeaker system to blare warnings about chemical accidents and explosions at local factories. Eight major petroleum processing plants are sited here, three of which are on the National Wildlife Federation's "Toxic 500" list of the country's most polluting facilities.

Texas City, at the mouth of Galveston Bay, is part of the massive network of petro-

chemical plants that surrounds Houston. Industries dump millions of tons of wastewater into the bay, where fishermen trawl for shrimp. Shellfish harvesting has been banned near Texas City. Dr. James Parker, a general practitioner in Texas City, sees a disproportionately high number of cases of mental retardation and learning disabilities in areas of Galveston County that border the bay—communities that rely on seafood for much of their diet.

Clusters of rare cancers have appeared on some streets in Texas City. Long-term epidemiological studies are difficult to undertake—as soon as plant workers retire, they move away.

After years of being Texas City's most vocal environmentalist, Rita Carlson moved to Illinois when her sons developed chronically swollen lymph glands after an acid leak from the Marathon oil refinery. "I had officials tell me...it's of national importance that we keep those chemicals flowing," says Carlson. "Texas City is a national sacrifice area."

#### BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA



SAM KITTNER

CHRISTMAS EVE, 1989: THE EXXON REFINERY in Baton Rouge exploded, sending a cloud of thick, black smoke 500 feet into the air.

Propane, ethane and diesel fuels burned for nearly 15 hours and more than 50,000 people sustained injuries, property damage or business loss. This dramatic explosion briefly captured the media's attention. But on the "home streets" of Baton Rouge, toxic chemicals are released into the air every day.

Baton Rouge hosts two halogen manufacturers, seven major petrochemical plants, 10

hazardous waste facilities and a major Superfund site called "Devil's Swamp." Samples of Baton Rouge mother's milk, taken in 1982, contained chloroform, dichlorobenzene, methylene chloride, perchloroethylene, trichloroethylene, benzene, styrene and 27 other synthetic chemicals.

Baton Rouge is part of a larger area of contamination—the lower Mississippi River basin—where 40 percent of the population is made up of people of color. Disease rates in the lower Mississippi are 13 percent higher for men and 16 percent higher for women than in

the rest of the United States. Louisiana, at the bottom of the basin, has the distinction of the most reported toxic releases of the 50 states—741.2 million pounds a year, to be exact.

Louisiana Attorney General William J. Guste, Jr., criticizes state officials who say that people of color and the poor *naturally* have higher rates of cancer. You can't "point out race and poverty as cancer factors," says Guste, "without asking if poor people or blacks...reside in less desirable areas more heavily impacted by industrial emissions."

RESOURCES The first National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit will be held October 24-27 in Washington, DC. For more information contact the United Church of Christ, Commission for Racial Justice, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 1948, New York, NY 10115; 212-870-2077. \* "Environmental Racism: Minority Communities and Their Battle Against Toxics" from The Amicus Journal, Spring 1989, is available for \$4 from the Natural Resources Defense Council, 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011. \* "LA's Lethal Air: New Strategies for Policy, Organizing and Action" by Eric Mann, is available for \$15 from Labor/Community Strategy Center, 14540 Haynes Street, Suite 200, Van Nuys, CA 1911. This is perhaps the best analysis of the connection between environmentalism, labor issues and urban pollution. \* "Not In Anyone's Backyard: The Grassroots Anti-Toxics Movement" from *Greenpeace Magazine*, January/February 1990, is available for \$2 from Reprint Request, Greenpeace Magazine, 1436 U Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009. \* "Toxics in the Community 1989: National and Local Perspectives," a 400-page compilation of reported U.S. toxic discharges,



SAM KITTNER

DIANNA WADE LIVES IN THE ALTGELD GARDENS housing project—a place that residents call "the toxic donut" because it is surrounded by landfills, incinerators and factories. All told, the 150,000 people of Chicago's southeast side live with 50 active or closed commercial hazardous waste landfills, 100 factories (including seven chemical plants and five steel mills), and 103 abandoned toxic waste dumps.

More than 70 percent of the residents are black, 11 percent are Hispanic, and all suffer from elevated levels of cancer and infant mortality. "Industries target poor urban communities and older white communities [for polluting industries and waste disposal facilities]," says Kevin Green of the Chicago-based Citizens for a Better Environment. "They know that there is little organized political opposition."

In May, CBE and its allies lost a fouryear fight to prevent a 1,600-ton-per-day municipal incinerator from being built in southeast Chicago. It will be allowed to release two tons of mercury and a half-ton of lead into the air each year.

Wade, pictured here, is frustrated. "It's pitiful. It's hard enough out here," she says. "We've got to get off our butts and do something."□

printed by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, is available for \$21 from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402; 202-783-3238. \* "We Speak For Ourselves: Social Justice, Race and Environment" is available for \$6.85 from The Panos Institute, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Suite 301, Washington, DC 20036. \* "We All Live Downstream: The Mississippi River and the National Toxics Crisis" is available for \$10 from Public Information, Greenpeace USA, 1436 U Street, NW, Washington, DC 2009. \* Environmental Consortium for Minority Outreach, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036. \* For information on Native American toxic waste problems contact the Native Resource Coalition, P.O. Box 93, Porcupine, SD 57772.

N JANUARY 22, SIX DAYS AFTER THE United States and its allies began bombing Iraq, a black and oily rain began to fall in southern Iran. Three days later, the Department of Energy issued a memo to all "DOE contractors and facilities" ordering an end to public discussion of environmental impacts of the war. If asked, wrote DOE information officer John Belluardo, government scientists should say that "catastrophic predictions in some recent news reports are exaggerated."

Scientists at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) were also ordered to close their mouths. Satellite photos suddenly became military secrets. In the weeks that followed, calls went out to academics and private research firms under contract to the government, asking them to

11 before Congress, Reilly offered a sanguine analysis, declaring that, after a brief EPA study, "we do not see the acute effects of pollution we had feared."

The statement seems premature at best. As of late July, according to Kuwaiti officials, only about 240 of 732 fires had been extinguished. While the Kuwaiti ambassador to the United States, Saud Al-Sabah, and the chairman of the Kuwaiti-owned Santa Fe Corporation declared in mid-July that they had set the "goal" of extinguishing all the fires by March of 1992, most observers are more persuaded by Red Adair, head of one of the four major fire fighting companies in Kuwait, who told Congress the week of Reilly's return that "the real work hasn't started." Characterizing the Saudi firefighting support as a "Mickey Mouse operation," Adair said that, without more

under control."

"Two months into what may be a 20- to 60-month campaign to extinguish the blazes, a government official tells us it is not as bad as we had feared?" says Brent Blackwelder, vice president of Friends of the Earth. "Statements like that don't inspire confidence in the White House's judgment, or its sincerity."

The administration's rosy view of environmental consequences started long ago. The environmental impact assessment that the administration relied on publicly since December, a model crafted by Richard Small of Pacific-Sierra Research Corporation, has been proven wrong on nearly all its predictions. Small's worst-case scenario called for 1.6 million gallons of oil burning in the gulf. Current estimates put the daily oil burned at two to four times that. Small's model estimated some 16,000 tons of sooty smoke released each day. The World Meteorological Organization pegs the daily soot release at more than 40,000 tons, and other estimates suggest that up to 100,000 tons of smoke may be lofting into the sky each day.

Finally, Small's estimate of the maximum height of the smoke plume was less than 4,000 feet. By March, FOE had put the height of the plume at over 16,000 feet. In June, the National Science Foundation reported the plume rising to higher than 20,000 feet.

But through all this, Small's reputation has remained intact, while FOE and nuclear winter experts Richard Turco and Carl Sagan have been painted as alarmist. "They are consistently wrong on nearly all counts, and we are deemed unprofessional?" says James George, former Canadian ambassador to Kuwait and head of the FOE expedition. "It just doesn't make sense."

In addition to dismissing global effects, the White House gave the environment immediately downwind from the oil fires the all-clear. This conclusion has been roundly criticized. "People come for a week or two and do some sampling and say the situation is fine," Farouk El-Baz, director of the Remote Sensing Center at Boston University, told *The Washington Post.* "They don't know the environment, they don't know the setting, they don't know anything about the region. Their pronouncements are harmful."

It appears that at least one branch of the

# AFTER DESERT STORM

# THE DELUGE

BY ANDRE CAROTHERS

remain silent. A gag order on the state of the gulf environment was in effect.

An eerie attitude of detachment has descended on White House officials, of which the gag order is just a symptom. Since the end of Desert Storm, the White House has acted as if it were eager to get past the gulf war, as if looking too long and hard would reveal a flaw in its reasoning and perhaps take some of the gloss off the military victory. But while the White House wishes the war had ended six months ago, when the bombing stopped, for the people and the environment of the gulf, it still continues.

IN JUNE, WHILE THE OIL FIRES RAGED AND Kuwait City choked on soot, the White House began to distance itself from the implications of Desert Storm. EPA Chief William Reilly returned from the gulf with what he called "encouraging news." Testifying on June

help, "we're talking five years" before the fires are all out.

An investigation conducted by Friends of the Earth (FOE) the same month also suggested that much work remained to be done. FOE found that many of the wellheads are completely destroyed and that oil is gushing from ruptured piping below the surface. These fires may require more sophisticated methods to put them out, such as drilling lateral "relief" wells, a time-consuming and complicated procedure. The breached well casings are also creating rivers and lakes of oil, some aflame, presenting firefighters with the harrowing prospect of having to navigate burning, mineladen barriers in order to approach the wells.

"It looks like the hard part is just beginning," says Richard Golob, an international expert on oil pollution and publisher of *Golob's Oil Pollution Bulletin*. "Some individual wells may take weeks or months to bring

U.S. government does not believe Reilly's laconic assessment. On June 16, the office of the Secretary of State sent a cable to U.S. diplomats stationed in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia voicing concern about the health effects of the smoke and the possibility that it might have global climatic consequences. The cable noted that without better data, "predictions should be considered as little more than guesswork." The cable also mentioned a consideration thus far ignored by U.S. government spokesmen: As the fires are extinguished, the reduced heat will cause the toxic smoke plume to stay closer to the ground, further affecting the health of Saudis, Kuwaitis and American servicemen still in the gulf.

Other discrepancies cast further doubt on the sincerity of Reilly's reassurances. According to the minutes of a meeting convened by the World Meteorological Organization in April, the EPA found one part per million (ppm) of sulfur dioxide in air samples taken at the U.S. Embassy in Kuwait, and up to 20 ppm in the air downwind from the fires. (Sulfur dioxide levels in American urban areas, by contrast, hover around .01 ppm.) But the public report released that month declared that their sampling "did not reveal the existence of high concentrations of sulfur dioxide near the burning oil wells or in population areas in the path of the oil well emissions."

The same month, a French mobile lab found "very high levels of sulfur dioxide and black smoke, either near the wells or in town [during] unfavorable weather conditions." According to the French report from the Central Laboratory of the Police Prefecture in Paris, "it may be feared that peak values of both pollutants will be associated with increased morbidity and mortality due to bronchopulmonary diseases."

As for the more obscure toxins that one finds in polluted air, the only report available thus far comes from the laboratory of the National Toxics Campaign, an environmental watchdog group based in Boston. By equipping a rotating military unit with some simple collectors and teaching the soldiers how to use them, the lab was able to obtain air samples from Jubail, Saudi Arabia, some 175 miles downwind from the oil fires. At this distance, the lab found five toxic hydrocarbon compounds. One chemical, 1,4-dichlorobenzene,

appeared in concentrations twice the maximum level considered safe by the state of Massachusetts. The health effects of these pollutants, as well as the soot, may not appear for years.

The U.S. government's blithe dismissal of local health impacts seems disingenuous at best. Brad Hurley, editor of the *Global Environmental Change Report*, says that while publicly cooperative, some Kuwaiti officials are

privately furious about the EPA's benign assessments of their country's plight. According to Hurley, a U.S. government official told him that the EPA will "soon be eating its words."

Regardless of its validity, the notion that things aren't as bad as they might be has taken hold in the media. The public relations strategy in cases such as these is an open secret: paint the rosiest picture possible, and if flaws are discovered in the tableau, admit them later, after the "spin" is firmly in motion.

The tactic is very successful. The collective brow-wiping and the unspoken corollary that

"someone" was wrong about this persists, despite the fact that no one ever suggested we should be seeing global effects within months of the end of the war. "They say it is not as bad as anticipated," says FOE's James George. "Anticipated by whom?"

Perhaps the most frustrating aspect of the Bush administration's post-war stonewalling is the curious lack of support for clean up. Independent observers are horrified at the lack-adaisical attitude of the regional governments and their American patrons, particularly in the early days of the oil spill, but also today, as the oil fires continue to rage out of control. "They are not treating this as the ecological disaster that it is," says Richard Golob. "Much could have been done to save the gulf environment,

and much still could be done, but it is just not happening. Unless the coalition members join together to assist Saudi Arabia and Kuwait in responding to this crisis, our military victory will become an overwhelming environmental defeat."

SINCE JANUARY, THE UNITED STATES HAS confounded the difficulties of determining

what may occur here by prohibiting government employees from discussing the situation. Satellite photos of the gulf were not released until April, and then only under pressure from the Union of Concerned Scientists. A U.S. atmospheric observation station on Hawaii's Mauna Loa Volcano detected an unusual amount of soot in early February, but EPA press officer John Kasper refused to let the NOAA staff discuss it. It was finally released three months later under pressure from the Sierra Club.

Also in April, a government researcher declined to present a computer simulation of

the oil fires at a conference in Vienna, arguing that she was not sure what the rules of the gag order were. The next month, other DOE researchers were prohibited from discussing the fires without clearance from their superiors. And in May, the EPA refused to allow reporters to talk directly to air assessment researchers in Kuwait. At least six major scientific investigations of the atmospheric impact of the oil fires had been put under the gag order, says Lara Gundel of DOE's Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory.

Yet no one in government will admit to having issued the order. John Belluardo, the author of the DOE memo, initially admitted to *Scientific American* reporter John Horgan—and then later denied—that the order had



Six months ago the bombing ended, leaving an environmental and public health disaster in the gulf. But instead of cleaning up, the government is covering up.

Why is the United States turning its back on the people and environment of the Persian Gulf?

come from the White House. At a meeting in Paris, NOAA director John Knauss told Horgan that the gag order "came down from about as high a level as you can imagine." Knauss appeared surprised, according to Horgan, that the gag order outlasted the war itself.

Why the secrecy? There are several theories. First of all, the timing of the "spikes" of soot collected at Mauna Loa confirms that it was allied bombing, rather than Iraq's destruction of the oil fields, that first sent sooty smoke into the atmosphere. While it pales in comparison to Saddam Hussein's savage act of environmental vandalism, the notion that the global plume of soot was launched by allied forces may not sit well with the White House. Several observers have charged that allied bombing was responsible for a significant portion of the oil spill as well.

Second, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia have little interest in stirring up debate on the wisdom of a military campaign that was conducted on their behalf. Kuwait in particular is worried that its best and brightest have lost faith in the country and may leave, prompting officials to paint the most benign picture possible of the country's environmental woes. This affords Washington the convenient excuse that, since the crisis is located in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, the two countries have the final say over what is said about their plight (and there is no free press in either country to interfere with spin control). And as Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are for the moment beholden to the U.S., there is little to stop the three countries from collaborating to shape the story as they please.

Any reporting on the wretched state of the gulf environment will only speed the reappraisal of the wisdom of Desert Storm that is already taking place around the world. Few observers outside this country are as enamored as most Americans are with the success of this military campaign. Baghdad's electric and water infrastructure is destroyed, promoting disease and malnutrition among the city's poorest. Between 20,000 and 30,000 cubic meters of raw sewage are pouring into the Tigris River each day. A Harvard study reported in May that 55,000 Iraqi children had already died as a result of the "indirect effects" of the allied bombing and predicted 170,000 more children will die by the end of the year. According to a Greenpeace report, between

63,000 and 99,000 Iraqi civilians were killed by the bombing, and nearly nine of every 10 deaths in Iraq occurred after the bombing ended. It is hardly the sort of victory that any civilized country should exult in.

By late July, the gag order had lifted somewhat, no thanks to the mainstream press. Only two major dailies in North America have even mentioned the gag order. And initially *The Washington Post* simply reported the cursory findings of the interagency report in April, without referring to the gag order or to the fact that it was prohibited from conducting any follow up interviews with the researchers. But *Scientific American*'s revelations, along with columns by Tom Wicker and Jack Anderson as well as other public discus-

sions of the gag order probably forced the White House to loosen its grip on the information flow. In the aftermath, many scientists paint the restrictions as not unduly harsh. "[The restrictions] assured that thorough work was done," said Russell Schnell of NOAA's

research center in Boulder, Colorado. "Scientists should be sure of what they are saying."

But the atmosphere of secrecy and retribution persists. "I am still getting the runaround," says John Horgan of *Scientific American*. Some researchers have suggested that knowing of the official distaste for public revelations leads to an insidious form of self-censorship. "It is hard to get anyone to say anything publicly," says Brent Blackwelder of Friends of the Earth. "People will lose their jobs." Lara Gundel agrees: "These scientists are walking on eggshells, perhaps out of fear of loss of research funding. They have begun effective self-censorship."

A s for what happens next, few can say with certainty, although that does not dissuade some from trying. Science, unfortunately, is a creature of politics, whether through the influence of funders (in this and most cases, the U.S. government) or the inclinations of the researchers themselves. DOE's client, Richard Small, calls himself a conservative. McKracken and others at DOE's Livermore Laboratory are greenhouse and nuclear winter skeptics, who tend to dismiss speculation about global impacts of regional atmospheric events.

Many environmentalists, for their part, demonstrate an overdose of precautionary alarm, raising the possibility of dire worst-case atmospheric scenarios in the absence of what



the scientific community holds as concrete evidence. In questions of child rearing and the airplane industry, such prudence is considered understandable, even desirable. But in the case of the gulf war, their caution has been cast as near treason by the media and the White House. We are thus presented with the bizarre tableau of environmentalists being forced to defend themselves by arguing with government scientists over whether the catastrophe is global or merely hemispheric. It is worth noting, in this regard, that the bulk of environmentalists have been proven far more accurate in their predictions than the U.S. government.

The largest single factor in assessing the long-term environmental impact of the oil fires

PHOTO: GEE

is the uncertainty. There is no baseline data on what levels of contaminants already existed in the region. Almost all the regional diagnostic equipment was either destroyed or stolen by the Iraqi army. As of April, only 25 of the 450 employees at the Kuwaiti Environment Protection Department were at their posts. As of July, there was no data on particulates in the air 10 microns in diameter or smaller, the most dangerous particulates in terms of lung damage. "Nobody has ever been exposed to something like this before," Dr. Morton Lippman, an authority on the health effects of air pollution at New York University Medical School, told The Washington Post. "There is no precedent for it."

Likewise, no one has ever experienced hav-

"These scientists are
walking on eggshells,
perhaps out of fear of
loss of research
funding. They have
begun effective selfcensorship."

ing ten percent of the world's daily oil consumption burning in one spot. "There is basically no literature on this problem," says Joel Levine of NASA's Ames Research Center. The gulf war has become. in the words of Michael Renner of the Worldwatch Institute, "a massive unplanned experi-

ment in the atmosphere."

While few scientists support the notion of a causal link, it is hard to ignore the fact that since the war, the weather throughout Asia has been unusually severe. And although most scientists are skeptical that enough of the oil fire plume will reach the stratosphere to have a global impact, NOAA scientists have detected soot from the gulf above Wyoming at nearly 35,000 feet, roughly where the stratosphere begins (something the first two government gulf studies insisted would not occur).

If a link between the oil fires and the weather anomalies does exist, it is certainly not going to be discovered if no one looks for it and if access to the scientific data is restricted.

Adam Trombly of the Aspen Institute for Advanced Studies, a member of the FOE expedition, insists that global effects are likely. "Why do people think the Himalayan snows are being darkened by the plume?" asks Trombly. "How do you think that relatively heavy particulates are being carried to Wyoming and beyond? The sooner the international community wakes up to the realities associated with this phenomenon, the better."

"EVERY WAR WILL SURPRISE YOU," SAID
General Dwight Eisenhower. The gulf
war is no exception. For the first time, the potential impact of war on the environment was raised
in advance of the actual battle. The wisdom of
Desert Storm can in part be judged by how well
these factors were considered. The White House
knew as early as November, three months before
Desert Storm began, that Hussein had wired
the wellheads with explosives. The president
opted for war, despite the potential impact
(based in part on the environmental assessment, which was deeply flawed) and over the
objections of nearly half the U.S. Congress and
several of the president's senior advisors.

Now, as the debate rages, the White House turns its back. The environmental disaster calls for an organized international firefighting and clean up campaign, yet the U.S. demurs, letting ill-equipped Kuwait and Saudi Arabia take the lead. A public health disaster as a result of the oil fires looms in Kuwait, yet the administration muzzles its scientists, manipulates the facts and gives the gulf environment a relatively clean bill of health. Where a measure of scientific caution would be warranted on the fires' potential impact on the regional and global environment, the White House issues broad denials. Where full disclosure is called for, the White House issues gag orders.

Six months after the Persian Gulf War, a reappraisal is just beginning. The myriad justifications for war—human rights, military and political—are being questioned. That the U.S. would have been better off tightening its oil belt, perhaps by ratcheting up the fuel efficiency of the U.S. car fleet a notch, is without question. Whether Kuwait and its inhabitants would have emerged less scathed had the United States stopped short of war is still debatable. But it is appearing more and more likely.



#### **OCEANS OF OIL**

International environmental catastrophes are hard to hide, even for the U.S. government. Despite the cover-up, there is enough information to support the contention of Salim Jawed Al-Arrayed, Bahrain's minister of health, that "We are grappling with the biggest environmental crisis in modern times."

As of July 30, what we know for sure is this: Up to one billion barrels of oil have been released, according to Richard Golob. If a conservative one percent of this amount were spilled on the ground and not burned, says Golob, then some 10 million barrels are streaming across the desert floor. Another six to eight million barrels have been spilled into Persian Gulf waters, making Saddam Hussein largely responsible for the two largest oil spills in history.

Roughly three to six million barrels of oil a day are going up in flames inside an area the size of the greater New York metropolitan area. The plume represents roughly 10 percent of the oil the world burns in a single day, but it is burning far less cleanly, and therefore releasing a greater amount of toxic particulates. The toxic pollution released in a single day in June was 10 times that released in a day by all the industries in the United States, according to the Worldwatch Institute. Between five and 10 million tons of sulfur dioxide will be released in a year by the fires, more than the combined output of France, Germany and the United Kingdom.

Food crops will be devastated in some areas. "You can write off this year's crops [in southern Iraq and western Iran]," says Robert Pellew of the World Conservation Monitoring Center. "We are now talking about working to save those of 1992." Livestock are dying because their lungs are blackened with soot. Hospitals, or what remains of them in Kuwait, are full of patients with respiratory illnesses of several kinds. According to a survey conducted by the Kuwait Environmental Action Team, nearly nine of every 10 residents in seven communities near the oil fires believe that the fire has affected their health.

The contents of the plume, which include carcinogens and other poisons, are swept into the sky and return to the earth in raindrops, contaminating water supplies, soil and crops. "The whole region is in for a bath of carcinogenic, mutagenic and possibly teratogenic chemicals, "says Peter Montague of Greenpeace and the Environmental Research Foundation.

In August, the *MV Greenpeace* set sail for the Persian Gulf to conduct its own investigation of the environmental situation.—AC

DTO: IVERSON/GAMMA-LIAISON

N MEXICO CITY, THE WORLD'S most polluted and populous city, 4 million cars pump approximately 32 tons of a potent neurotoxin into the air every day. Across the Pacific, in Jakarta, Indonesia, cars belch a ton and a half of the same poisonous substance into the air every day.

The toxin is lead from tetraethyl lead (TEL) gasoline additive. The result is every parent's nightmare and society's most sickening failure: lead poisoning, an illness that can destroy the health and mental development of children. Despite the U.S. phaseout of leaded gasoline, which began in 1975, U.S. companies are still exporting highly toxic TEL gasoline additive to developing countries where its use is not restricted.

"Today, we have one gasoline for the rich countries, and another, deadlier gasoline for less industrialized countries," says Mario Epelman, a physician with Greenpeace's Latin America Project.

As a result, says David Schwartzman, professor of geology at Howard University, "children in the Third World continue to be subjected to a poisonous assault from highlead gasoline." With the use of cars growing in developing countries, Schwartzman says, lead levels in gasoline and air are so high that "we can reasonably expect childhood lead poisoning to reach truly epidemic proportions in many Third World cities."

There is frightening evidence that Schwartzman may be right:

>Dr. Jerome Nriagu, a research scientist with the Canadian National Water Research Institute, recently

performed roadside dust analyses in Nigeria which showed as much as 6,000 parts per million of lead. By comparison, in the United States paint is considered hazardous to children at 600 parts per million of lead.

➤ Harvard Medical School neurobiologist Dr. Stephen Rothenberg's long-term study of maternal-infant lead levels has revealed that some umbilical cords at Mexico City's National Institute of Perinatal Development contain



"The mining, smelting and refining of lead and lead products is a monumental crime committed by mankind against itself."

—Clair Patterson, geochemist with the National Academy of Sciences

enough lead to cause neurological damage.

➤In Alexandria, Egypt, where gasoline contains extremely high concentrations of TEL and air lead levels are often double the Euro-

problems symptomatic of developing countries. "Because of the narrow streets and overcrowding in urban areas, because of the prevalence of contaminated dusts both indoor and outdoor, because of poor nutrition and health, poor hygienic conditions and the preponderance of pregnant women and children, the populations of developing countries are much more susceptible to the hazards of environmental lead contamination," explains Nriagu.

Debate has raged for decades over the source of childhood lead poisoning. While gasoline additive is not the only source of the lead, it is the source of 80 to 90 percent of all environmental lead contamination, according to North Carolina epidemiologist Dr. Carl Shy who studied the problem for the World Health Organization. In the U.S., study after study has shown correlations between exposure to gasoline lead and high blood lead levels.

In Mexico, where blood lead levels are among the highest in the world, the problem is compounded by the centuries-old practice of using lead salts for pottery glazing. But with Mexico using almost seven percent of the world's TEL in its cars, many suspect gasoline lead as a major culprit as well. Earlier this year, Dr. Eduardo Palazuelos of the American British Cowdry Hospital and three colleagues from Mexico City's Public Health Department finally documented this suspicion: children

who live near busy streets have higher blood lead levels and are more likely to suffer neuropsychological and behavioral impairment.

If putting lead in gasoline is, as Dr. Shy has

written, "the mistake of the twentieth century," why is so much of the world still doing it? The answer is technical, political, and, most of all, economic.

TEL was invented and first marketed in 1924, when the U.S. auto industry was at a crossroads. The choice was between relatively small, efficient engines relying on higher grade gasoline, and larger, high compression engines requiring TEL, an octane boosting additive.

# NOT GETTING THE LEAD OUT

BY KENNY BRUNO

pean Community's (EC) recommended limit, central nervous system dysfunction has been discovered among traffic controllers.

➤In Buenos Aires, Argentina, air lead levels have been measured at 3.9 grams per cubic meter in the daytime, and 1.7 grams per cubic meter at night, according to Epelman. The EC's recommended limit for a 24-hour period is 1 gram per cubic meter.

Lead's toxic effects are compounded by

GREENPEACE

EIGHTEEN

The first 18 months of TEL production, in 1924-25, were telling: At least eight workers died and at least 300 others were poisoned from exposure to lead fumes at Du Pont's Chambers Works, New Jersey plant. (Twelve years later, in 1936, the company explained in its annual report that the lead poisoning deaths were the "slow and gradual toll humanity has always paid, and perhaps must always pay, for the conquest of new ground.")

In response, more stringent workplace regulations were imposed, but experts continued to warn of public health consequences from TEL use. Dr. Alice Hamilton, one of the country's foremost experts on lead at the time, doubted that the public could be protected from widespread dispersion of lead into the environment. "You may control the conditions within a factory," she said. "But how are you going to control the whole country?"

Her arguments seem persuasive now, but a heavy propaganda assault from industry—Ethyl, for example, proclaimed TEL "a gift from God"—carried the day and industry began widespread marketing of TEL. By the 1970s, its world consumption reached 350,000 tons per year (270,000 tons in the U.S. alone), making it one of the largest volume chemicals produced. Air lead levels in U.S. cities reached staggering levels, and dangerously elevated blood lead levels in children became common.

But as lead's threat to health became more widely documented, as modern gasoline refining techniques and alternative octane boosters became available, and as catalytic converters became required in cars, leaded gasoline virtually disappeared from Japan, Canada, Australia, and the United States. Worldwide, the TEL market is declining by about 10 percent annually; however, much of that decline is in Europe. Most of the rest of the world still relies on leaded fuel. And they buy the lead additive from the big three TEL manufacturers-either U.K.-owned Octel, U.S.-owned Ethyl (whose lead manufacturing plant is in Canada), or U.S.-owned Du Pont's joint venture with Pemex-TEMSA-in Mexico. (Octel and Ethyl sell TEL all over the world, while TEMSA markets its TEL in Mexico and the rest of Latin America.)

The manufacturers justify the continued marketing of TEL with an arrogant denial that

leaded gasoline causes damage to children. Floyd Gottwald, CEO of Ethyl, claims that "no conclusive scientific evidence has ever linked the use of lead in gasoline to human health problems."

While almost no one outside the industry agrees with Gottwald, the fact is that the removal of lead from gasoline requires capital investment for refinery modernization and higher operating costs. Joel Schwartz, senior scientist at EPA, estimates that it costs two and a half to three cents more per gallon to use unleaded gas and still produce high octane fuel. Thus, the poorer the country, the more likely it is to continue to use leaded gasoline.

. But the benefits of removing lead make those three cents a gallon seem unimportant. In the U.S., the decline in the use of leaded gas

What you can do: Write your sena-

tors and congressional representa-

tive and ask them to support the

Lead Exposure Reduction Act of

1991 (S. 391), introduced by Sens.

Lieberman (D-CT) and Reid (D-NV),

which mandates testing and abate-

ment of lead hazards and restricts

manufacture and use of lead-con-

taining products.

has had "a fantastic effect on children," according to long-time lead researcher Dr. Sergio Piomelli, a hematologist at Columbia's Children's Hospital. Before the phaseout of lead, 30,000 out of 100,000 New York City children tested had elevated blood lead levels;

after the phaseout, only 1,500 out of 100,000 had similarly high blood lead levels.

Convinced by the success of North America's switch to unleaded, some countries in Latin America are now beginning to look at measures to stop the lead attack on their children. Mexico, with perhaps the worst problem in the hemisphere, has reduced the lead content of its gasoline drastically since 1980. In Argentina, Greenpeace's Epelman has called on the government to prohibit the import of TEL and other hazardous products, and has put together a plan for the phaseout of leaded gasoline by 1996. Epelman calls his country's adoption of leaded gasoline technology "a tragedy," but is hopeful because there is no technological impediment to the phaseout. -Research assistance by Elaine Burns

This article was paid for by Greenpeace Action. Greenpeace Action is a sister organization of Greenpeace USA that promotes environmental protection and disarmament through grassroots organizing, education and legislation.

#### WHAT WENT WRONG?

In a ramshackle room, a toddler picks at a peeling windowsill. She turns to the camera, putting a paint chip in her mouth. "Lead poisoning," the voiceover intones in this heart-tugging 1970s TV spot. Yet two decades after this burst of public awareness, after lead in wall paint and gasoline was partially phased out, American children continue to be poisoned at an alarming rate.

One in six American children, says the U.S. Public Health Service, has lead levels high enough to impair mental development. In inner cities, the figure increases to one in two children. The culprits are familiar ones: paint, drinking water, cans. "This problem was supposed to have been solved 20 years ago," says Senator Joseph Lieberman (D-CT).

What went wrong? Critics charge that "there's a long trail of inaction and dereliction" on the part of Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the Department of Health and Human Services. The 1971 Lead-Based Paint Poisoning Prevention Act directed HUD to clean up leaded wall paint. Yet leaded paint remains in millions of

homes, and HUD hasn't formulated regulations to prevent poisoning.

So plans for change were introduced this year—plans that amount to little more than foot-dragging. EPA, for example, introduced a water cleanup plan that gives utilities up to 26 years to get lead out of water, and dodges a congressional order to set standards for lead in drinking water. The Bush administration outlined a five-year strategy to combat lead poisoning, then gave HUD just \$26 million for cleanup of

lead paint in the 1992 budget. About \$2 billion is needed just to address the worst houses.

Why have agencies and the Bush administration fallen down on the job? First, a climate of non-regulation is bred when one public agency oversees another. EPA's relationship with water utilities led to a "non-enforcement culture," its drinking water director, James Elder, admitted to *The Washington Post*.

Second, the Bush administration is no friend to truly stringent lead regulation. In the early '80s, George Bush, as head of the Presidential Task Force on Regulatory Relief, tried to block EPA's leaded gas phaseout. As president, Bush has slashed regulatory programs: He cut \$4 million from the EPA's drinking water program for 1992. Last December, his Council on Competitiveness, headed by Vice President Dan Quayle, derailed a proposed EPA ban on incineration of lead-acid batteries.

Opposition to tighter controls also comes from outside the Beltway. Utility pressure was responsible in part for EPA's backing down on lead standards for water. Lead industry groups also claim new regulations are unnecessary, using their own studies to argue that lower lead levels don't hurt children.

A series of bills tightening lead rules now sits before Congress. Promoting tougher legislation, Rep. Henry Waxman (D-CA) proclaimed: "We can't rely on the administration anymore. The president cannot stand as the 'education president' if he's letting kids be poisoned by lead."

—Laura Harger

decade ago on U.S.owned Costa Rican banana plantations applying the wormkilling pesticide DBCP had rendered them permanently sterile.

Zumbado and Loaiza testified they had been told by their employer, Standard Fruit, that DBCP was "safe." Yet, in 1979, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency banned the domestic use of DBCP because of evidence linking it to cancer and sterility. The American Standard

Fruit Company continued using DBCP in Costa Rica 15 months after the EPA ban, and Costa Rica permitted its use until 1988. By this time, more than 1,000 Standard Fruit banana workers who had been exposed to the chemical reported cases of sterility. Standard Fruit then exported its inventory of about 180,000 liters of DBCP from Costa Rica to Honduras, where similar reports of sterility among farm workers are now beginning to emerge.

According to published reports, the chemical companies that made DBCP—Shell, Dow and Occidental—knew it caused sterility as early as the mid-'50s but altered the studies, suppressed the information and continued to make and export the product.

Senate Agriculture Committee Chair Senator Patrick Leahy (D-VT) called the tale of DBCP "an appalling one." "In the blind pursuit of corporate profits, U.S. chemical company giants ignored their own scientists, kept studies secret from their own employees, dumped their poison overseas and devastated the lives of thousands of unsuspecting and innocent people," charged Leahy. Although DBCP is no longer used in Costa Rica and no

longer made in the U.S., other pesticides banned or severely restricted in the U.S. are still being exported for use around the world in a "circle of poison."

The pattern is a sad and familiar one. It captured headlines in June when residues of



Pesticides severely restricted in the U.S. are "as easy to buy in Costa Rica as a sack of potatoes."

the Rhone Poulenc insecticide aldicarb (brand name, Temik) were discovered at up to 10 times the U.S. legal tolerance level on Latin American bananas. The discovery led to a \$100 million recall of potentially tainted fruit already in the distribution system.

While U.S. consumers may relax knowing that these potentially toxic bananas were not fed to their children, the silent victims behind the residues may never breathe easy. Pesticides such as aldicarb are categorized as "severely restricted" in this country—meaning their use requires training in handling the toxic substances and protective gear in application. In tropical countries, such prerequisites are either unavailable or inappropriate. In addition, says Greenpeace's pesticide cam-

What you can do: To ensure that the DBCP tale is not told again, Senator Leahy and Representative Mike Synar (D-OK) are sponsoring the "Circle of Poison Prevention Act of 1991," which would outlaw the export of pesticides banned or unlicensed in this country. Contact your senators and representative and strongly urge them to support the Circle of Poison bill. You can also act locally to discourage abusive agricultural practices and support land stewardship through the purchase of organically grown fruits and vegetables.

paigner Sandra Marquardt, in countries where literacy is a problem, warning labels and instructions may go unheeded.

Dr. Catarina Wesseling, coordinator of the pesticide program at Costa Rica's National University, claims that aldicarb and ICI's

> paraquat, also severely restricted in the U.S., are "as easy to buy in Costa Rica as a sack of potatoes." The two pesticides rank among the Pesticide Action Network's (PAN) "Dirty Dozen," a group of particularly hazardous pesticides targeted by PAN for elimination from the world market. They are, together with a third severely restricted U.S. pesticide, American Cyanamid's terbufos (trade name, Counter), responsible for the vast majority of pesticide poisonings in Costa Rica.

Pesticide-related human poisonings in Costa Rica are reported ranging from seven to 69 per 100,000 inhabitants, with occupational poisonings reported at 1,463 per 100,000 workers for 1986, according to Wesseling. "In just one year, 1.5 percent of paid agricultural workers had suffered from pesticide poisoning," said Wesseling. "We had reason to consider even this extremely high figure an underestimation."

Humans are not the only victims of toxic pesticides. Up to half a million fish were found dead in the canal areas of the banana-producing region of Costa Rica in July 1990, reportedly due to terbufos use on the plantations. And thousands of dead fish in the Gulf of Nicoya on the Pacific Coast were attributed to pesticide contamination in 1985. Additional reports circulate in Costa Rica of acute pesticide poisonings among cattle and other domestic animals, as well as massive wildlife mortalities.

This article was paid for by Greenpeace Action. Greenpeace Action is a sister organization of Greenpeace USA that promotes environmental protection and disarmament through grassroots organizing, education and legislation.



#### **OCEAN BILLS**

THE PROBLEM: As fish resources decline, fishermen use more equipment and longer nets to catch the same amount of fish. Fishermen in Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, France and England use massive high-seas driftnets, which kill everything in their paths, including dolphins, whales, sea turtles and birds, further weakening ocean ecosystems.

THE SOLUTION: Ban them. The United Nations voted to stop high-seas driftnetting by June 30, 1992, but individual nations must act to pass their own legislation in support of the UN ban.

THE LEGISLATION: 1) Write to your senators and ask them to support the Driftnet Bill (S. 884), sponsored by Senator Bob Packwood (R-OR), which imposes economic sanctions on countries that refuse to stop driftnetting.

THE PROBLEM: Between 1987 and 1988, 50 percent of Atlantic bottlenose dolphins perished from disease and/or pollution. Other marine mammals die from the hundreds of oil spills that occur in the United States each year.

THE SOLUTION: Pay attention to the health of marine mammals. Investigate the cause of dolphin die-offs. Work to correct ecological problems that cause die-offs.

THE LEGISLATION: Ask your representative to support the Marine Mammal Health and Stranding Response Act, sponsored by Rep. Thomas Carper (D-DE), which creates an emergency response team to deal with die-offs, requires that marine mammal die-offs be investigated, strengthens the nation-wide stranding network and implements a program to assess the health of marine mammal populations.

9 9 9

THE PROBLEM: Salmon and other fish that spawn in west-coast rivers are threatened with extinction in part because water supplies are being strained by big agribusiness.

THE SOLUTION: Allocate water more fairly. Let river ecosystems have more water.

THE LEGISLATION: Ask your representative and senators to support the California Fish and Wildlife Protection Act (H.R. 1306 and S. 484), which would cancel lifetime water contracts given to agribusinesses and

change contract terms to one to three years with frequent review.

#### THAWING THE ICE CURTAIN

WOUR POSITION IS TWELVE MILES FROM THE borderline of USSR. Stop your engines here," barked the voice from the KGB border boat. The *SV Rainbow Warrior* stayed put, as instructed, hovering outside of the far eastern Soviet naval port of Petropavlovsk.

"Petro" is not just any port. It is a major nuclear submarine base, and has been closed to foreign vessels since World War II. The Soviet military still does not want the secrets of Petro revealed, but local residents are concerned that secrecy may be covering up an environmental catastrophe. "They fear that nuclear waste from the base, stored in the area, may be leaking into the bay," says Greenpeace's Josh Handler, who was part of the team admitted to Petro via a land route.

Greenpeace and the *Rainbow War*rior were invited to Petro by the Kamchatka Greens. Faith Doherty, the onboard campaigner, explained the invitation: "Despite the Cold War mentality of the military, an enormous people-to-people diplomacy effort is trying to thaw the ice curtain that still falls across the north Pacific."

Doherty was unable to witness the people's diplomacy firsthand, as the *Rainbow Warrior* was never allowed to pass the 12-mile limit. But the ship's visit became a *cause célè bre* for local Greens and democratic forces. Independent TV Kamchatka broadcast daily live interviews with the crew aboard the *Rainbow Warrior*, and an impromptu show of support took place outside the regional government office, where residents petitioned officials to allow the *Rainbow Warrior* to dock. —*IC* 

#### THE "WAR ON WASTE" IS ON

ARMERS FROM EASTERN WASHINGTON, Indiana equestrians, blue-collar "Buckeyes" from Ohio, Colorado ski bums. These diverse people also consider themselves grass-roots activists, and they've joined Greenpeace Action in the most comprehensive anti-toxics battle to date—the War on Waste. Their target is RCRA (the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act), the primary piece of federal legislation to deal





A resident of Petropavlovsk asks her government officials to allow Greenpeace's Rainbow Warrior to dock.



with hazardous and municipal solid waste. Over the next year, RCRA will be debated, "marked up" and amended on Capitol Hill. Grassroots activists are sending a message to their representatives: Don't burn it; don't dump it; reduce it!

The platform, developed by Clean Water Action, The National Toxics Campaign Fund and Greenpeace Action, calls for: 1) placing a 10-year moratorium on new incinerators and underground injection wells; 2) stopping sham recycling operations; 3) reducing garbage and maximizing recycling and composting; 4) phasing out and banning the most dangerous chemicals; 5) giving citizens more rights to protect communities from pollution and to

negotiate with government and industry; and 6) ensuring a smooth transition to clean technologies and a sustainable economy.

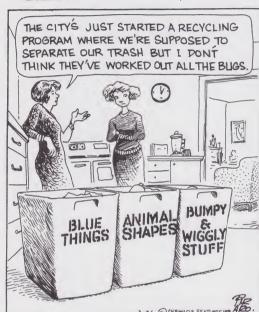
These commonsense solutions to the nation's waste problems are sure to come up against opposition from those who profit from pollution, including incinerator builders and large waste generators. Just

ask the people on the front lines. Activists in East Liverpool, Ohio, have been fighting a proposed hazardous waste incinerator for an entire decade. Despite the 10-year battle, construction workers are pouring concrete and laying bricks to build the incinerator. "We're going to be breathing it, we are going to be drinking it and we are going to be eating it [incinerator emissions] in the food grown in our ground," says activist Elaine McClung.

There have been victories, too. For example, in May, after years of opposition by Greenpeace Action and local residents, the state of Arizona agreed to buy out the giant toxic waste incineration and landfill complex

BIZARRO

that ENSCO was building outside of Phoenix. Previously, the state had railroaded citizen activists out of the public comment process. At one so-called "public hearing," 18 wouldbe participants were arrested, and five of themincluding Greenpeace Action's Bradley Angel were stun-gunned by county sheriffs. Nevertheless, Angel reports,



By DAN PIRARO

"Under intense public pressure, Arizona Governor Fife Symington finally implemented the will of the people."

A revamped RCRA, including increased citizen participation and a ban on new inciner-

ators, will give activists some breathing room. It will free them from the "putting out fires" methodology in places like East Liverpool and Phoenix, and allow them to work on long-term toxics solutions.—JC

#### SUB PROGRAM **SPRINGS A LEAK**

FIRES, FLOODS AND COLLIsions. Radiation leaks. Falsified safety tests. These are just a few of the charges

leveled in recent months against the U.S. Navy's nuclear submarines.

In May, crew members on the Californiabased attack subs Haddock and Guardfish told a San Diego Union reporter of a series of mishaps and violations. Guardfish sailors claimed their captain faked repair documents

What you can do: A steady stream of RCRA legislation will be coming out of Congress. As we go to press, two bills are before the U.S. House: Ask your representative to support Rep. Peter Kostmaver's (D-PA) Pollution Prevention Community Recycling, Incinerator Control Act (H.R. 3253), which will put a 10-year moratorium on new municipal solid waste incinerators and impose strict conditions on building new hazardous waste incinerators; and Rep. Gerry Sikorski's (D-MN) Community Right To Know More Bill (H.R. 2880), which will require companies to devise plans for reducing the volume of toxic chemicals that they use (thereby reducing toxic waste) and to expand reporting of toxics use and emissions.

**NEW GREENPEACE PUBLICATIONS** 

Playing With Fire/\$10.00: In theory, properly designed incin-

erators get rid of toxic waste. In reality, they create more

pollution and health problems. This 63-page book is a must

for any activist fighting a hazardous waste incinerator and

Trash Into Cash/\$5.00: This 37-page book is an abstract of

the massive Encyclopedia of Environmental Crimes and

Misdeeds, which painstakingly lists Waste Management,

Inc.'s shady and polluting business practices. Try the ab-

Order books from Greenpeace Information Services.

1436 U Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009; 202-319-2444.

stract, and if it raises your ire, call us to order the "big book."

for any person living downwind from one.



#### **WORTH CELEBRATING!**

NATIVE AMERICANS: The new Indigenous Environmental Network was formalized when more than 500 participants from 57 different tribes and reservations gathered in South Dakota for the "Protecting Mother Earth—The Toxic Threat to Indian Lands" conference in June...

WHALES: The Irish government established the world's first whale and dolphin sanctuary, which extends for 200 miles off of Ireland's coasts and will be patrolled by boats, planes and satellites... SEA TURTLES: To protect a loggerhead sea turtle rookery, the government of Queensland, Australia, extended the boundaries of its Bundaberg marine park. Local fishermen also agreed to stop trawling an eight-kilometer length of shoreline near the rookery during the summer turtle nesting season... TOXICS: Under pressure from the grassroots Hispanic group Mothers of East L.A., Security Environmental Systems dropped its plans to operate a commercial hazardous waste incinerator in Vernon, California, adjacent to the barrios of East Los Angeles... WASTE TRADE: American Cyanamid agreed to stop sending shipments of poisonous mercury waste from its New Jersey plant to Thor Chemical Company, a mercury reprocesser that operates on the edge of the Kwazulu homeland in Cato Ridge, South Africa... NUCLEAR WEAPONS: The Senate Armed Services Committee approved new conditions for restarting the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant: no restart until the safety board is satisfied that DOE has corrected certain health and safety problems... ANOTHER

ANNIVERSARY: Greenpeace Canada celebrated its 20th anniversary on September 14th at the Orpheum Theater in Vancouver, British Columbia. UK pop star Billy Bragg kicked off his North American tour at the event—an evening of music, song, satire and talk.

#### WILL WASHINGTON CON THE NATION ON ENERGY?

S. 1220, the Coal, Oil and Nuclear (CON) energy bill backed by President Bush and sponsored by Senator Bennett Johnston (D-LA):

**RESTRICTS** citizens' participation in the licensing of nuclear power plants.

**RESTRICTS** the ability of states to promote energy efficiency.

**SACRIFICES** the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge for oil drilling, and entices states to accept drilling off their coasts.

**LAVISHES** tax breaks and other benefits on the nuclear power, coal and oil industries.

**IGNORES** opportunities to make cars, heating and lighting systems, and home appliances more energy efficient.

**IGNORES** clean, renewable energy sources (like solar, wind power and biomass), which can be produced and managed locally.

Senator Bennett Johnston, chairman of the Senate Energy Committee and longtime oil and nuclear industry backer, is pushing to bring S. 1220 to a vote this fall. His energy bill

closely parallels President
Bush's National Energy Strategy and has strong Bush administration support.

Help stop the CON. Mail the postcard attached to this magazine to one of your sena-

tors, or write your own letters, urging your senators to vote against S. 1220 and to get to work on an energy bill based on efficient use of renewable energy!

and shipped out with a leaky reactor and an inoperable drain pump. They said that the sub nearly sank, allegedly after an improperly opened valve flooded the ship with 10 tons of water. Kevin Carr, a sailor aboard the *Flasher*, claimed his sub failed an essential reactor test. The Navy has denied most of the allegations, even after sailors threatened to walk off the subs in protest.

Simultaneously, Greenpeace's Nuclear-Free Seas campaign released the accident histories of the Navy's aged permit-class subs, including the three at the center of the controversy. Although the permit class is due to be retired this year, their histories belie the Navy's long-standing claim that "there has never been a reactor accident in all the Navy's years of operations."

Greenpeace found that the *Guardfish* leaked reactor coolant into the ocean off Washington State in 1973. The deck log for the day was apparently falsified. All told, the records recount 40 accidents between the *Haddock* and *Guardfish* alone, including collisions, fires and equipment failures.

And affidavits filed last summer by sailors on the sub *Finback* suggest that violations may not be confined to permit subs. Sailors' statements reveal a widespread pattern of falsifications of safety documents and promotions of unqualified personnel. "*Finback's* policy was 'just make the paperwork happen," states one sailor's affidavit. "It's my opinion that it was command policy."—*LH* 

#### **TONGASS REDUX**

Years of outcry have brought attention to Alaska's spectacular Tongass National Forest. but not enough to save it from loggers. The Supplemental Tongass Land Management Plan, due out at the end of August, puts nearly every piece of forest not under native or congressional protection back on the block. Scheduled to be clearcut are the Port Houghton/Sanborn Canal, Hoonah Sound, Cleveland Peninsula, Honker Divide, Sarkar Lakes and North and West Dall Island. Anyone who has been there knows that to clearcut these areas is madness. Write to The Forest Plan Revision Team, 8465 Old Dairy Road, Juneau, AK 99801.

The Campaigns section is paid for by Greenpeace Action. Greenpeace Action is a sister organization of Greenpeace USA that promotes environmental protection and disarmament through grassroots organizing, education and legislation.

#### **HEADS UP, STUDENTS!**

Coalition (SEAC) now at 303-440-5290 to participate in "Common Ground," the third annual national student environmental conference, which will be held at the University of Colorado at Boulder, October 4-6. Thousands of students have already planned to gather for the conference, which will focus on developing student leadership, diversifying the environmental movement and giving SEAC's grassroots campaigns a global perspective.

#### DEAR SIDNEY.

your Letters MADE A DIFFERENCE (see "Safeguard C," Econews, Greenpeace, May/June 1991)! Thanks to some 500 of you who wrote to U.S. Congressman Sidney Yates (D-IL), his House Interior Appropriations Subcommittee requested \$3 million for humanitarian assistance and a health survey for the people of Rongelap Atoll in the Marshall Islands, which was contaminated by U.S. nuclear testing in the 1950s.

#### **ASBESTOS VICTIMS**

Preath Taken: The Landscape and Biography of Asbestos is a striking presentation of Bill Ravanesi's traveling photographic exhibition, which examines the devastation of asbestos disease through the eyes of its victims and their advocates. This new publication is available for \$25 (prepaid) from the non-profit Center for Visual Arts in the Public Interest, 348 Congress Street, Boston, MA 02210; 617-482-8899. Proceeds support the Center, whose mission is to merge public health and environmental issues with the visual arts.

#### **WORLD ALERT**

WATCH FOR THE NEW SET OF ENVIRONMENTAL public service announcements produced by



VH-1, the cable TV music station. The "World Alerts" focus on energy issues and highlight the work of such organizations as Greenpeace, the Environmental Defense Fund and the Union of Concerned Scientists.

#### **WOOD ADVICE**

**R**AINFOREST ACTION NETWORK'S *Wood User's Guide* gives no-nonsense advice about finding and using ecologically friendly woods for construction, furniture and musical instruments. It is available for \$7.50 plus \$2.50 postage from RAN, 301 Broadway, Suite A, San Francisco, CA 94133. (California residents add seven percent sales tax.)

#### **EARTH NETWORK**

OR INFORMATION ABOUT
Earthnet, a free environmental electronic
bulletin board,
call BAI Computer Sales
and Service at 516669-0138 or
modem EarthNet
LJ 516-321-4893.

#### **GE VIDEO**

THE NON-PROFIT organization INFACT is working to expose the truth behind General Electric's "we bring good things to life" image. For the fifth anniversary of its international boycott of General Electric, INFACT is releasing a 30-minute video, Deadly Deception. The film documents the damage that toxic and radioactive contamination in and around GE's nuclear weapons facilities has wreaked on the environment, workers and nearby residents. You can order the video (VHS \$15 + \$3 postage, 3/4" and international \$25 + \$4 postage) and video brochures (20 cents each) from INFACT, P.O. Box 3223, South Pasadena, CA 91031; 800-688-8797.

#### **DISK DEMOCRACY**

PEAK OUT SOFTWARE CAN HELP YOU STREAMline your political letter writing. It contains the names and addresses of more than 3,000 public officials so that you can automatically address letters to U.S. senators and representatives, governors, agency officials, foreign leaders and others. The software is being offered at a 40% discount (\$29.95) to Greenpeace supporters. To order the software or obtain more information, contact SOS, P.O. Box 272705, Houston, TX 77277-2705; 800-437-7325.

#### **NO NUKES IN NEEDLES**

Talifornia's Mojave Desert could become the dumping ground for much of the nation's so-called "low-level radioactive waste"—a deceptive label that includes

heavily contaminated nuclear reactor scrap.

The site, where waste would be dumped in unlined open trenches, is only about 15 miles from the Colorado River (a major source of drinking water for southern California cities) near the town of Needles. Greenpeace Action is calling for the dump to be scrapped outright, and for the generators of nuclear waste-not the citizens of California or any other state—to assume responsibility for disposal of existing waste and to stop producing it. Write to Governor Pete Wilson (State Capitol, Sacramento, CA 95814), urging him to

dump the dump. Or write to Secretary of Energy James Watkins, Department of Energy, Washington, DC 20585, demanding that the federal government hold the producers of radioactive waste liable for disposal and cleanup.

The Action Access section is paid for by Greenpeace Action. Greenpeace Action is a sister organization of Greenpeace USA that promotes environmental protection and disarmament through grassroots organizing, education and legislation.

#### M A Y

- 16 Rome. Greenpeace, Lega per l'Ambiente, World Wildlife Fund and Survival International join together to ask the Italian government to stop tropical timber imports from Sarawak ... immediately.
- **24** Marshall Islands. The *Vega* and its crew sail into the 125,000-square-mile



impact zone of a U.S. intercontinental ballistic missile

to protest the effects of such tests on the ozone layer.

24 Vienna, Austria. Greenpeace accuses the International Atomic Energy Agency of propagating a "big lie" with its Chernobyl report, which ignores more than 700,000 irradiated victims.

25 Germany. Greenpeace activists put tables, chairs and potted plants on innercity streets of more than 50

German cities, converting the auto-congested areas to pedestrian walkways.

28 Melbourne Beach, Florida. Greenpeace welcomes Senator Bob Graham to a "beach patrol" at the Archie Carr National Sea Turtle Refuge, where he helps measure and tag loggerhead sea turtles.



#### UN

- 9 Paha Sapa/Black Hills, South Dakota. The Native Resource Coalition from the Pine Ridge Oglala Sioux Reservation presents Greenpeace with a Sioux Star Quilt.
- 10 Brussels. Greenpeace climbers hang a banner reading, "Time For Clean Production," on a 150-foot

crane at the construction site of the new EC Council of Ministers Building and call for a ban on hazardous waste incineration.

17 Vienna/Zurich. To protest increasing truck traffic and air pollution along the Alpine transit routes of Austria and Switzerland, Greenpeace activists chain themselves across two major northsouth highways.

18 Rotterdam, The Netherlands. Greenpeace blocks shipments of vinyl chloride from the Akzo company and calls for a ban on production of chlorine and chlorinated compounds.



25 Frankfort, Kentucky.

27 Victoria, British
Columbia. Greenpeace
divers wrap chains around
the propellers of the Canmar Explorer III while two
activists chain themselves
to its stern to prevent the oil
drilling ship from departing
for the Chukchi Sea.

29 Bilbao, Spain. Dock workers stop unloading German and Swedish toxic waste in support of Greenpeace activists who had carried out a blockade until



they were stormed by the Spanish Civil Guard.

**29** Columbus, Ohio. Greenpeace Action joins state grassroots activists as they march from three corners of Ohio to the Capitol in Columbus to present Governor George Voinovich with demands for tough new toxics reduction legislation.



UL

- 1 Washington. Greenpeace releases its study entitled Crisis in the French Nuclear Industry, which reports on the safety, economic and waste disposal problems of French nuclear power plants.
- 2 Wadden Sea, The Netherlands. Greenpeace's MV Solo protests against a Mobil drilling rig headed for the Frisian Front, which has been nominated for special status as a nature reserve.
- 4 Asturias, Spain. Greenpeace divers confirm that the offshore marine bed of the Cantabric Sea is layered with organic and toxic wastes dumped by the CEASA paper mill.
- 4 Brussels, Belgium. Greenpeace hands the results of an eight-day survey of the French driftnetting fleet off the Azores to the European Community Fisheries Commission.
- 5 Auckland, New Zealand. Greenpeace condemns the French government for awarding honors to secret service agent Alain Mafart, who bombed Greenpeace's Rainbow Warrior six years ago.
- 14 Akwesasne, Quebec. As Greenpeace's "Zero Discharge" tour begins, the *Moby Dick* crew and representatives of the Mohawk Nation hold a news conference detailing Akwesasne's severe pollution problems.



#### HICKEL'S OFFICE RESPONDS

Your cover story "Who Owns Alaska?" (*Greenpeace*, July/August 1991) is one of the worst examples of yellow journalism I have read in years. An apology and an official retraction are in order.

With vicious lies and innuendos, you attempt to make a case that Governor Walter Hickel has changed since his days as U.S. Secretary of the Interior, where he established one of the most impressive records ever achieved by a public official on behalf of the environment. Please see the partial summary enclosed.

Having served with Mr. Hickel both in Washington, D.C., and now in Juneau, I can say without challenge that this is the same man, with the same vision and the same global view of the environment. It may not be your agenda, but he sees the future in compassionate terms in which we learn to care for wildlife, habitat and the entire human family.

Articles such as "Who Owns Alaska?" will lead not just to the discrediting of the environmental movement but, in doing so, will make it much harder for the rest of us who are sincerely trying to improve the environment for all.

Malcolm B. Roberts Special Assistant to the Governor for Policy and Cabinet Affairs State of Alaska

Roberts points to no specific "lies and innuendos," and the summary he encloses, of Hickel's environmental record through 1972, sheds no new light on Hickel's current environmental record. We stand by our original report.—Eds.

#### PAPER PRAISE

Recently I had occasion to read your editorial in the July/August issue of *Greenpeace*, which

elaborated on the complexities of recycled paper. One of the tests I use to evaluate a piece is whether or not I learn anything from it. I learned a lot from yours. It's first rate!

Lester R. Brown

President

Worldwatch Institute

#### **GREEN PARTY SUCCESS**

When my Greenpeace Magazine came yesterday, I looked first for some hint of a possible Green Party organization ("Why Not Here?" Greenpeace, July/August 1991). I was delighted to find it—though it was only a hint. None of the writers implied any thought of actually running a candidate for president in 1992, a goal apparently considered too ambitious for beginners. And yet it seems to me that anything less will accomplish little. Perhaps in Europe a legislator or two might have an influence, but given our "winner-take-all" system, it's unlikely we can hope to change our country's general direction without a thoroughgoing, winning campaign.

An amazing percentage of eligible voters have given up on the electoral process and don't even register to vote. Imagine being able to tell them, "But we really do have a candidate for you!"

Dorothy Ferrier

Warren, Connecticut

I think the only way a third party can be influential in the U.S. is for it to represent a broad range of interests. The Green Party doesn't do that, nor does the new Labor Party that is being organized. I support both parties as steps in the right direction, but they cannot succeed as presently constituted.

In the '60s and '70s, a Conservative Party raised hell in New York State because it spoke

for a broad range of conservatives and thereby attracted large numbers of them away from the Republicans. A progressive third party has to follow the same strategy. It should be a coalition of the Left, representing environmentalists, labor, civil rights, feminists, Native Americans, and so on.

Mike Bradley
Oakland, California

#### **GRASSROOTS VS. JAMES BAY PROJECT**

It is fitting that one of the world's largest and most ecologically and culturally destructive hydro-electric projects is receiving exposure and action from large groups such as Greenpeace ("Campaigns," *Greenpeace*, July/August 1991). Quebec's James Bay Project has met with grassroots opposition in Quebec, New York and New England for at least five years, but it is crucial to have international support.

We have discovered the project was largely planned in the '60s to meet estimated U.S. energy demands consistent with ever-expanding economic development, and that people like James Schlesinger and William Simon, as well as corporations like Bechtel, Citicorp and Shearson-Lehman have a stake in its completion.

There are severe economic consequences to those in Quebec and America associated with this boondoggle. Prestigious agencies like the Canadian Bond Rating Agency, Moody's and *The Wall Street Journal* have warned investors to be careful investing in Hydro-Quebec. In the northeast a number of small utilities are facing bankruptcy because they were misled into investing in an ever-smaller scheme—the Seabrook nuclear plant. *James J. Higgins* 

James J. Higgins Senior Adviser, Vermont Coalition to Save James Bay

G R E E N P E A C E M A G A Z I N E

STAFF Editor in Chief: Andre Carothers Features Editor: Daphne Wysham Departments Editor: Judy Christrup Managing Editor: Laura Farr Collins Administrative Coordinator: Michael DeLane Editorial Assistant: Laura Harger Intern: Jon Kohl Design: Jeremiah Austin Graphic Design Prepress: Lamman Progressive Printing: Arcata Graphics through JK Enterprises Additional Editorial Help: Alexandra Allen, Bradley Angel, Peter Bahouth, Rita Alexander Block, Paul Bogart, Mary Boyd, Lesley Busby, David Chaftleld, Peter Dykstra, Diane Feeney, John Frizzell, Laura Glassman, Peter Grinspoon, Josh Handler, Dana K. Harmon, Julie Herman, Rick Hind, Bruce Jaildagian, Sam Kittner, Steve Kretzmann, Gerry Leape, Scott Lewis, Gregory W. Luce, Sanjay Mishra, Cynthia Moore, Jim Riccio, Ron Robinson, Meg Ruby, Sue Sabella, Kai Siedenburg, Steve Schwartz, Annie Szvetecz, Lynn Thorp, Andrew Tickle, Karen Topakian, Jim Vallette, Jackie Walsh, Chris Zimmer OFFICES Canada: Vancouver 1726 Commercial Drive, Vancouver,

B.C. V5N 4A3, (604) 253-7701; **Toronto** 185 Spadina Avenue, 6th Floor, Toronto, Ontario MSD 225, (416) 345-8408; **Montreal** 2444 Rue Notre Dame Ouest, Montreal, Quebec H3J 1N5, (514)933-0021. **United States:** Chicago 1017 West Jackson Blwd., Chicago, IL 60607, (312) 666-3305, **Seattle** 4649 Sunnyside Avenue N, Seattle, WA 98103, (206 683-4326; **San Francisco**, CA 94107, (415) 512-9025, **New York** 96 Spring Street, 3rd Floor, New York, NY 10013, (212) 941-9994. **Editorial Office (USA Headquarters**): 1436 U Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 462-1177. **TTV** 2027 319-2455 (U.S. only). **Moving? Duplicates?** Send your magazine label with your correct address to P.O. Box 3720, Washington, DC 20007, or in Canada, to the Toronto office. Greenpeace is an international environmental group with offices in Antarctica, Argentina, Australla, Austral, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Costa Rica, Benmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands,

New Zealand, Norway, the Soviet Union, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States. *Greenpeace Magazine*, ISSN 0899-0190, is published four times a year. To receive the magazine and support Greenpeace USA is non-profit, Ex-exempt organization! we request it annual of the state of the state

# GIVE A GIFT THAT COUNTS THIS YEAR. GIVE GREENPEACE.

Now you can show your family and friends you care about them—and their world—by making gifts in their names to Greenpeace. They'll appreciate the thought (we'll send them a special card with your name on it acknowledging your gift) and you'll know that this year your gift will be helping protect our environment.

your gift will be helping protei	ct our environ	ment.	
<b>YES</b> , I want to give the gift of Enclosed is my donation of:	of Greenpeace	this year.	For a donation of \$30 or more, your gift includes
□\$100. □\$75. □\$50. □\$	\$30. Other \$		Greenpeace Magazine. How-
Please accept this gift on behal		int):	ever, if the recipient already gets the magazine, or if you
RECIPIENT'S NAME			don't want us to send it, you can help save resources—and
			help Greenpeace save money
Address	1 8-1		—by omitting the magazine.  Just check the box below.
City	State	Zip	☐ Please do not send
(List additional recipients on a separate sheet of paper)			Greenpeace Magazine to my gift recipient(s).
			Please make your check
Your Name			payable to Greenpeace and
A 1 1		3	return it with this form to: Greenpeace, Attn: "Gifts,"
Address			1436 U Street, N.W.,
C	A service of the serv		Washington, DC 20009.
City	State	Zip	Thank you for your support
W1Q100			and thoughtfulness.

GH, FENDEAC

# Announcing the end of the silent check.

:: 125000000: 0000000000

Pag to the

"It's working! Thousands of you are now using Greenpeace checks. Every time you use these checks, you help us spread our message and generate money to continue our work. Peter Bahouth, Executive Director

Greenpeace

A special offer for Greenpeace supporters.

Now you can speak out for Greenpeace with every check you write. You can show those you do business with that you want clean rivers and lakes and seas. You can show you are saying "No" to the production of toxic waste and "Yes" to the protection of threatened marine mammals and other endangered species, human beings included.

The startling facts. If you're like the average Greenpeace supporter, you wrote about 300 checks last year. And every last one of them was silent. Now, your checks can make a bold statement about where you stand. Your Greenpeace checks will start discussions. And allow you to help others understand what Greenpeace is all about.

**Do they work?** Absolutely. Your Greenpeace checks carry the same banking and personal

information that's on your present checks. In fact, there's only one difference between these checks and the checks you're using now. The

:: 125000000: 0000000000

Greenpeace makes a buck. Every time you order a supply of Greenpeace checks Greenpeace makes up to \$1.50. That may not seem like much, but remember all the other Greenpeace supporters. Together, you are making a very big difference for Greenpeace.

So get the word out. Don't write another silent check. Not when you could be showing your support for the dramatic actions of Greenneace.

Satisfaction guaranteed or a full refund will be provided.

Sorry, Canadian and stub style checks not available at this time. Allow 2–4 weeks for delivery. WA state residents add 8.2% sales tax. Questions? Call (206) 324-7792.

© Message!Check Corp. 1991

	SINGLE \$14.00 per 200 checks	DUPLICATE \$14.95 per 150 checks
Greenpeace		
□ You Can't Sink a Rainbow □ Let the Oceans Live		
Let the Oceans Live	SINGI F	DUPLICATE
	\$16.00 per 200 checks	\$16.95 per 150 checks
☐ Multi-scene (all of above)		
2. Select shipping preference:	□ FIRST CLASS	□ BULK MAIL
3. Attach the following to this fo		No charge (allow 4 wks,
Re-order form from your present of Deposit ticket from same account Payment check made payable to N		
B. Attach the following to this for Re-order form from your present of Deposit ticket from same account	Add \$3.00 (allow 2 wks) rm: heck supply	

1:1250000001: 00000000000



# TO GET RID OF THE WARHEAD ON THE LEFT, YOU AVE TO GET RID OF THE WARHEAD ON THE RIGHT.

On the left, a nuclear missile. On the right, a lobbyist for the nuclear weapons industry.

Both come from companies like General Electric, Westinghouse and EG&G. And both are extremely dangerous.

The missile for obvious reasons. The lobbyist because he spends his days on Capitol Hill convincing vour elected officials that the

19,000 nuclear warheads the United States already has aren't enough.

But there are ways you can stop him. You can write your representatives and tell them you'd rather your taxes went to something constructive instead of destructive. You can boycott companies involved in the building or testing of nuclear weapons. And you can support Greenpeace Action.

We'll lobby against the weapons lobbyist. Stopping your money from going into useless military projects, into obsolete plants creating lethal radioactive waste, and into the weapon industry's pockets.

Because when you think about it, we already have too many warheads. Of both kinds.

**TREENPEACE** ACTION

		4
I'm proud to support the efforts of Greenpeace Action. Enclosed is my donation. J1	Name	
\$100\$75\$50\$30	Address	_
I prefer to send \$	City State Zip	
We request that you donate \$30 or more to receive the	DI A	
bimonthly Greenpeace magazine. Please allow up to	Please return to: Greenpeace Action	
8 weeks for your first issue. Contributions or gifts to	1436 U Street, NW, Suite 201A	
Greenpeace Action are not tax deductible.	Washington, DC 20009	

Include revised label for name and address changes.

Greenpeace USA 1436 U Street, NW Washington, DC 20009 Non-profit Organization U.S. Postage Paid Clarksville, TN. Permit No. 621